

# Dictators and Diplomats in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: Medieval Epistolography and the Birth of Modern Bureaucracy

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The efflorescence of letter writing and letter collecting in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was a response not only to literary, intellectual, and emotional developments, such as the desire for self-expression, but also to the political and administrative needs created by the growth of government and the emergence of national states.

One of the conspicuous features of the late twelfth century was the growing importance of carefully drafted letters in the conduct of business—not the brief and trenchant writs which are the clearest manifestation of the first age of effective government, but the elaborate unfolding of complicated matters which now occupied the chanceries of Europe.<sup>1</sup>

Persuasion and consultation were central to effective rule in the Middle Ages, and as the world expanded letters were the principal means of influencing actions and opinions and of communicating with people at a distance.<sup>2</sup> Letters bridged

This article is a revised version of a paper presented at the Sixth International Penn-Paris-Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium held at the Villa Serbelloni in Bellagio from 27 November to 1 December 1989. It benefited from the comments of Alexander Kazhdan and other participants, especially Robert Benson and Ronald Witt, and later of John Baldwin and Kenneth Wolf. Fuller documentation on some points will be found in my other works on medieval epistolography, especially the introduction to *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 2 vols., Harvard Historical Studies 78 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); *Letters and Letter-Collections*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental 17 (Turnhout, 1976); and “Forged Letters in the Middle Ages,” in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, 5 vols., MGH, *Schriften* 33 (Hannover, 1988), V, 11–37.

<sup>1</sup>R. W. Southern, “Peter of Blois: A Twelfth-Century Humanist?,” (1963), repr. in his *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), 110. See also W. Patt, “The Early ‘Ars dictaminis’ as Response to a Changing Society,” *Viator* 9 (1978), 133–55, esp. 148, and R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe 950–1250* (Oxford, 1987), 136, who remarked on how literate clerks replaced warriors “as the agents of government and the confidants of princes” and on the “specialization or professionalization of government.”

<sup>2</sup>See my article “Papal, Imperial, and Monastic Propaganda in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” in *Prédication et propa-*

the gap not only between individuals but also between people and institutions and between official documents and works of literature cast in epistolary form. Together with law, the art of writing letters (*ars dictandi* or *dictaminis*) paralleled the arts of public speaking (*ars arengandi*) and preaching (*ars praedicandi*) as subjects of study for those preparing for careers in ecclesiastical or secular government.

In this article I shall be concerned less with the writers of official and business documents, which were drawn up in chanceries and of which the purpose is usually clear, than with the writers of missive letters (*missiles litterae*), which are harder to classify because (as the so-called Saxon *summa* on letter writing, which was written in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, put it) they conferred no authority, had no legal force, and created no necessity: “They express and declare only the intention of the sender and of the recipient.”<sup>3</sup> Alberic of Monte Cassino, the author of the earliest known treatise on letter writing, defined a letter as “a suitable arrangement of discourses (*sermones*) established to express the intention of the sender” or as “an oration suitably and clearly put together out of its parts fully expressing the mind of the sender.”<sup>4</sup> The terms *epistola*, *carta*, and *opus-*

*gande au Moyen Age. Islam, Byzance, Occident*, Penn-Paris-Dumbarton Oaks Colloquia 3 (Paris, 1983), 179–99. According to R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (San Francisco, 1988), 635, Constantine used letters in addition to buildings, inscriptions, and edicts as a medium of deliberate publicity.

<sup>3</sup>L. Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher des elften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. paginated consecutively, *Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte* 9.1–2 (Munich, 1863–64), 260.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 10. A similar definition is found in the *Summa dictaminis* of Orléans (*ibid.*, 103), which called a letter “a suitable oration, well put together out of its parts fully expressing the state of mind” and went on that “I said ‘suitable oration’ to exclude those which are not orations . . . [and] ‘fully expressing

*culum* were equated by Onulf of Speyer in the eleventh century, and were used interchangeably not only with *littera* and *schedula* but also with *oratio* and *sermo*.<sup>5</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux wrote at the end of his treatise *On precept and dispensation*, which was written in the form of a letter, that he had exceeded the epistolary mode (*modum epistolarem*) and that the reader could call his discourse (*sermo*) either a book (*librum*) or a letter (*epistolam*).<sup>6</sup>

The writers of such letters were more than simply monastic or chancery scribes and often combined their letter writing activities with broader advisory and administrative functions. They are found at various times in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, but they took on a new importance in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when they formed a distinct group of recognizable personalities whose activities extended beyond the scriptorium. Both the style and content of their letters were influenced by the revival of interest in classical literature and epistolography, which went back at least to the tenth century. The classical interests of Gerbert of Rheims, the future Pope Sylvester II and a notable letter writer, were continued by Heriman, among whose students was Meinhard of Bamberg, whose letters were marked by a "conscious classicism" and "Ciceronian style".<sup>7</sup> Alberic of Monte Cassino cited Cyprian, Paul, and Sallust to illustrate the *verba scematica* used for praise and blame in letters, and Hugh of Bologna cited Cicero and Sallust as examples of (unmetrical) prose *dictamen* as distinct from the (metrical) prose and letter (*prosa et epistola*) of St. Paul.<sup>8</sup> The

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the state of mind' because the sender should open his heart to the recipient." Hugh of Bologna (ibid., 55) said that prose (as distinct from poetic) *dictamen* was "an oration freed from the law of meter." See R. Witt, "Medieval 'Ars dictaminis' and the Beginnings of Humanism: A New Construction of the Problem," *Renaissance Quarterly* 35 (1982), 9: "Alberico reflects well the tendency to assimilate the letter to a speech when he characterizes the task of the *exordium* as rendering the reader 'attentive, kindly disposed and docile' and illustrates his whole discussion of the structure of the letter by giving examples from speeches found in Sallust." On Alberic see F. J. Worstbrock, "Die Anfänge der mittelalterlichen Ars dictandi," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 23 (1989), 1–42, with references to previous literature.

<sup>5</sup>W. Wattenbach, "Magister Onulf von Speier," *SBBerl, Phil.-hist. Kl.* (1894), 380.

<sup>6</sup>Bernard of Clairvaux, *De praecepto et dispensatione*, XX (61), ed. J. Lederq et al., *Sancti Bernardi opera*, 8 vols. in 9 (Rome, 1957–77), III, 294.

<sup>7</sup>Meinhard's letters are edited in *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.*, ed. C. Erdmann and N. Fickermann, MGH, *Briefe* 5 (Weimar, 1950). On their classicism, see J. R. Williams, "The Cathedral School of Rheims in the Eleventh Century," *Speculum* 29 (1954), 665.

<sup>8</sup>Rockinger, *Briefsteller*, 33 and 55 (see note 3 above).

*Ars poetica* of Horace, of which more than a hundred and fifty complete or partial manuscripts survive, was a model of poetic epistles in which an older poet guided a younger writer. Seneca was popular for both his own letters and his apocryphal correspondence with St. Paul, which was known to Abelard and Peter the Venerable in the twelfth century and of which there are some three hundred late medieval manuscripts.<sup>9</sup>

Pride of place among ancient letter writers belonged to Cicero, who influenced medieval epistolography directly through his own letters and his treatise *De amicitia*, and indirectly through his philosophical and rhetorical works.<sup>10</sup> Medievalists no longer accept the view that Petrarch's "discovery" of Cicero's letters heralded the shift from medieval to humanist epistolography and the emergence of the literary *epistolarium*. Gerbert cited Cicero repeatedly and in a letter written in 984/5 said that he wanted, like Cicero, to combine the honest and the useful and hoped that "these most honest and sacred friendships" would be useful to both sides.<sup>11</sup> The letter collections of Meinhard of Bamberg and other writers during the reign of Henry IV are full of references to Cicero. The influence of Cicero on John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois is well known.<sup>12</sup> Monastic letter writers like Peter the Venerable and Aelred of Rievaulx also cited Ci-

<sup>9</sup>B. Munk Olsen, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1982–87), I, 426 (on Horace) and II, 373–77 (on Seneca). See L. D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters* (Oxford, 1965), esp. 104–11, and on the apocryphal correspondence between Seneca and Paul, *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam <quae vocantur>*, ed. C. W. Barlowe, PAAR 10 (Rome, 1938), 8–70, and L. Boccioni Palagi, *Il carteggio apocrifo di Seneca e San Paolo*, Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere "La Colombaria," Studi 46 (Florence, 1978).

<sup>10</sup>N. Valois, *De arte scribendi epistolas apud Gallicos mediæ ævi scriptores rhetoresve* (Paris, 1880), 23. See M. Manitius, "Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 67 (Leipzig, 1935), 20–39; Olsen, *Etude*, I, 119; and K. Fredborg, "The Scholastic Teaching of Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge grec et latin* [Copenhagen] 55 (1987), 85–105, esp. 88 on the 12th century.

<sup>11</sup>Gerbert, *Ep.* 44, ed. J. Havet, *Lettres de Gerbert (983–997)*, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire 6 (Paris, 1889), 42, and ed. F. Weigle, *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims*, MGH, *Briefe* 2 (Weimar, 1966), 72–73. See K. Pivec, "Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Aurillac," *MittÖIG* 49 (1935), 68, who called Gerbert's collection "an autobiography in documents" and "the forerunner of later memoir-literature," and B. P. McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350–1250*, Cistercian Studies Series 95 (Kalamazoo, 1988), 148.

<sup>12</sup>*The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. W. J. Millor, H. E. Butler, and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols., [Nelson's and] Oxford Medieval Texts (London-Oxford, 1955–79), II, xxxii; B. Munk Olsen, "L'humanisme de Jean de Salisbury, un Ciceronien au 12e siècle," *Entretiens sur la renaissance du 12e siècle*, ed. M. de Gandillac

cero. Richard of Poitiers said that Peter resembled Cicero in his epistolary style and Tertullian in his scriptural commentaries, and Aelred may have had Cicero's letters in mind when he criticized monks who meditated on Virgil with the Gospels, Horace with the prophets, and Cicero with St. Paul.<sup>13</sup>

An important aspect of the charm—and the power—of letters was that they were addressed at the same time to an individual and to a larger audience and were thus both private and public. A letter was “the eye of the heart,” the face of the inner man, “the mirror of the soul,” and “the soul impressed on letters.” Letter collections have been called documentary autobiographies. It is no accident that the golden age of medieval letter writing coincided with the revival of autobiography for the first time since Augustine, the popularity of dialogue form in literature, and the cult of friendship fostered by Cicero's *De amicitia*.<sup>14</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux wrote:

It is human and necessary to feel for those who are dear, either pleasantly when they are present or sadly when they are absent. Social intercourse is not idle, especially among friends, and the dread of separation and reciprocal sadness in those who are separated show what mutual love feels for each other in those who are together.<sup>15</sup>

For Peter the Venerable, friendship was “the silver cord” which bridged the distance between friends:

and E. Jeuneau, *Décades du Centre culturel international de Cérisy-la-Salle*, n.s. 9 (The Hague, 1968), 53–69, esp. 54; and C. J. Nederman, “Aristotelian Ethics and John of Salisbury's Letters,” *Viator* 18 (1987), 161–73. On Peter of Blois, see notes 16–17 and 61 below.

<sup>13</sup>E. Berger, *Notice sur divers manuscrits de la Bibliothèque vaticane. Richard le Poitevin, moine de Cluny, historien et poète*, BEFAR 6 (Paris, 1879), 121–22, cf. 75, and Aelred of Rievaulx, *Speculum caritatis*, II, 24, in PL 195, col. 573 BC. In his *De spirituali amicitia*, I, *ibid.*, col. 664c, Aelred equated “the one heart and one soul” of Acts with Cicero's definition of true friendship. See also Walter Daniel, *The Life of Aelred of Rievaulx*, ed. F. M. Powicke, [Nelson's] Medieval Classics (London, 1950), lviii note 1.

<sup>14</sup>According to C. Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050–1200*, Church History Outlines 5 (London, 1972), 79, “Autobiography was . . . not an isolated phenomenon, but part of [a] general tendency to examine, and publish, one's personal experience.” P. von Moos, “Literatur- und bildungsgeschichtliche Aspekte der Dialogform im lateinischen Mittelalter,” in *Tradition und Wertung. Festschrift für Franz Brunhölzl zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. G. Bernt, F. Rädle, and G. Silagi (Sigmaringen, 1989), commented not only on the “new culture” of the dialogue but also (203–4) on the monastic *confabulatio/collocutio fraterna*. On friendship, see J. Leclercq, “L'amitié dans les lettres au moyen âge. Autour d'un manuscrit de la bibliothèque de Pétrarque,” *Revue du moyen âge latin* 1 (1945), 391–410, esp. 400; the articles of A. Fiske gathered in her *Friends and Friendship in the Monastic Tradition*, CDOC Quaderno 51 (Cuernavaca, 1970); and McGuire, *Friendship*.

<sup>15</sup>Bernard, *Super Cantica* 26, VI (10), ed. Leclercq, I, 178.

“From distant I become close, from remote contiguous, from divided joined, from separated connected.”<sup>16</sup> And Peter of Blois cited Cicero that “Neither water nor fire nor air are more useful to us than a friend,” adding on his own that “Friendship is a ladder (*gradus*) which carries men to God. With love as intermediary, man draws close to God when he is made a friend of God out of a friend of man.”<sup>17</sup> Absence created what scholars have called the epistolary situation (*Briefsituation*), which was filled by letters. The ancient descriptions of letters as *sermo absentium quasi inter presentes* and as *acsi ore ad os et presens* were often cited in the Middle Ages, in both East and West. St. Ambrose said that he was never less alone than in his letters, and Boccaccio at one point remarked that he had read some letters from friends “as though I had been in their presence and had conversed with them face to face.”<sup>18</sup>

Friendship was more than a matter of personal feelings, however. It often involved political considerations and had a public as well as a private face. Many letters dealt with matters of concern to more than one person, and versions of the same letter were sometimes sent to several people.<sup>19</sup> Some writers were at pains to publicize their friendships. Anselm wrote, probably in the mid-1070s, to a monk named Maurice:

It is a long time since we visited each other by our letters (*nostris . . . litteris . . . visitavimus*), because we are in no doubt about the solidity of our mutual love and have greeted each other when there was an opportunity by the words of messengers (*nuntiorum sermonibus*). Lest someone should for any reason think that [our] love has cooled, however, I think it suitable that it should sometimes be seen to burn in writings (*schedulis*) like sparks flying out from each [of us].<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup>Peter the Venerable, *Epp.* 6 and 54, ed. Constable, I, 12–13 and 174. In *Ep.* 81 to his friend Bishop Hato of Troyes (ed. Constable, I, 218, and II, 39), Peter cited a passage from Cicero's *De amicitia* which was also used by Aelred of Rievaulx and Peter of Blois in their treatises on friendship.

<sup>17</sup>Peter of Blois, *De amicitia christiana*, I, 3, ed. M.-M. Davy, *Un traité de l'amour du XIIe siècle. Pierre de Blois* (Paris, 1932), 118–20. Peter Lombard identified the Holy Spirit with both the love of God and the love of other men: *Sententiae*, I, 17.1.2, *Spicilegium Bonaventurianum* 4–5 (Grottaferrata, 1971–81), I.2, 142.

<sup>18</sup>Ambrose, *Ep.* 49.1, in PL 16, col. 1203c, cf. *Ep.* 47.6, *ibid.*, 1200c (on Ambrose, see McGuire, *Friendship*, 45–46); and Boccaccio, *Ep.* 11, in *Opere latine minori* (Bari, 1928), 144.

<sup>19</sup>Peter Damiani sent his *Ep.* 49 to at least four recipients: *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, 2 vols., ed. K. Reindel, MGH, *Briefe* 4 (Munich, 1983–88), II, 62 (note). James of Vitry also sent out various versions of the same letter: *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/70–1240)*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960), 47.

<sup>20</sup>Anselm, *Ep.* 69, ed. F. S. Schmitt, *S. Anselmi . . . opera omnia*, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1946–61), III, 189.

For Anselm the words of a messenger were private, like the knowledge of mutual love, but a letter was expected to be seen or heard by others.

The distinction between writing and speaking was less sharp in the Middle Ages than it is today. Letters were called *sermones* and *orationes* because they were spoken in the course of preparation and were often delivered orally, as speeches, even to recipients who knew Latin and how to read. *Legere* and *audire* were used as synonyms, and “read and hear” was a commonplace in medieval works of both prose and poetry at least until the fourteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Many letters were in effect either letters of introduction or diplomatic instructions, and the real message was delivered orally. Peter the Venerable described a letter to Bernard of Clairvaux as “tongueless (*elingues*) because it is entrusted to the tongue of the bearer,” and he asked Nicholas of Montiéramey to present a letter to Bernard by word of mouth: “Read it to him intently and carefully and exhort him as strongly as you can to carry out what I have written solely out of love.”<sup>22</sup> The art of speaking was closely related to the art of composition, and the effectiveness of a letter depended as much on how it was presented as on how it was written.<sup>23</sup> Eloquence was a valuable asset in the conduct of practical affairs. Lambert of Ardres said that Sifrid the Dane won the favor of the count of Flanders and his followers by addressing them *satis eleganter et urbane*,<sup>24</sup> and members of the family of Hauteville, according to Geoffrey of Malaterra, were so adept in the arts of flattery and eloquence “that you attend even to the boys as if they were rhetoricians.”<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup>See especially R. Crosby, “Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages,” *Speculum* 11 (1936), 88, and Witt, “Medieval ‘Ars dictaminis,’” 5–6: “Letter composition was oriented toward oral presentation of the message within a formal setting. Official communications, particularly important letters, were often read aloud by the recipient or in the recipient’s presence and thus at the moment of communication took on the appearance of an oration.”

<sup>22</sup>Peter the Venerable, *Epp.* 73 and 151, ed. Constable, I, 206 and 372; see also *Ep.* 2, *ibid.*, 5. Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to Bishop Henry of Winchester in 1133 that “You can safely entrust to Abbot Ogerius, through (*per*) whom you have received this [letter] from us, whatever you may wish to write or instruct by word.” *Ep.* 93, ed. Leclercq, VII, 242.

<sup>23</sup>See P. O. Kristeller, *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford, 1964), 160, and Witt, “Medieval ‘Ars dictaminis,’” 20, who remarked on the “close link between *dictamen* and oratory.”

<sup>24</sup>Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, 11, in MGH, *Scriptores* in fol., XXIV, 567. Lambert was writing ca. 1200, though the event he described here occurred in the tenth century.

<sup>25</sup>Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii*, I, 3, ed. E. Pontieri, RISS V. 1 (Bologna, 1928), 8.

Almost all letter writers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries made use of scribes and messengers to write and deliver their letters. Peter Damiani had a *juvenculus* named Sylvester who “not only wrote this while I dictated but transferred onto parchment what was written on tablets.” Peter was the *dictator* or composer of the letter. The actual work of taking down his words on wax tablets and of writing the letter (*schedule*) was done by *scriptores* and *notarii*, who presumably reconstructed the words of the dictator as best they could.<sup>26</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, in a letter written in 1124, distinguished the functions in writing a letter respectively of invention (*ingenium*) in composing (*dictando*), lips in dictating (*confabulando*), fingers in writing (*scribendo*), and messengers in carrying (*discurrendo*) a letter.<sup>27</sup> These activities might be combined, but they were usually separated. Many letters were carried by bearers or chance travelers whose sole responsibility was to give them to the addressees. Others were given to messengers or *nuntii*, who either presented them as a speech—if necessary in translation—or supplemented them with a message. “A *nuncius* is he who takes the place of a letter,” according to Azo, “he is just like a magpie and the voice of the principal sending him, . . . and he recites the words of the principal.”<sup>28</sup>

Scholars have on the whole paid more attention to the form and content of medieval letters than to their writers, in the sense not of the men and women whose names appear in the salutations but of the actual drafters and writers. Very little is known about the activities of individual scribes except in Italy, where notaries were secularized and professionalized, and began to keep registers, at an earlier date than elsewhere in medieval Europe.<sup>29</sup> The work of a few scribes can be traced through groups of original charters, when they survive.<sup>30</sup> A scribe named G. was archivist and li-

<sup>26</sup>Peter Damiani, *Op.* XIII, 14, in PL 145, col. 311D. See *Ep.* 1, 15, in PL 144, col. 229B, and *Op.* XIX, 9, in PL 145, col. 438D. See K. Reindel, “Studien zur Überlieferung der Werke des Petrus Damiani [I],” *DA* 15 (1959), 50–67, and J. Leclercq, *Saint Pierre Damien ermite et homme d’église*, *Uomini e dottrine* 8 (Rome, 1960), 155.

<sup>27</sup>Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep.* 90, 1, ed. Leclercq, VII, 237.

<sup>28</sup>D. Queller, “Thirteenth-Century Diplomatic Envoys: *Nuncii* and *Procuratores*,” *Speculum* 35 (1960), 199.

<sup>29</sup>Ronald Witt suggested that this may have been a factor in the relative dispersal of cultural life in Italy, in contrast to the concentration of clerical scribes in courts and monasteries north of the Alps, which contributed to the formation of literary and cultural circles there.

<sup>30</sup>See M.-C. Garand, “Copistes de Cluny au temps de saint Maieul (948–994),” *BEC* 136 (1978), 5–36; *idem*, “Giraldus

brarian at the abbey of St. Victor in the 1160s; an anonymous monk of Trois-Fontaines wrote forty-three charters between 1169 and 1196; and more than a hundred surviving documents were written by the notary known only as M A, who was active at Metz from 1185 until 1221.<sup>31</sup> Though these men clearly played an important part in running the institutions with which they were associated, they were still essentially scribes, and are known from the documents and books they copied.<sup>32</sup> They all worked for more than one master, however. Albert *Teutonicus* of Cluny wrote charters for at least eight people in eight different places. The scribe of Trois-Fontaines wrote in twelve and M A in almost forty names. They copied books as well as documents. Albert was an artist, and G. a librarian. Though none of them stepped far outside the scriptorium, they played a larger role than simply that of anonymous scribes, and they pointed the way toward the emergence of a class of identifiable writers occupied with the written business of society.

The growing importance of letters in medieval society created a demand for a new type of scribe who had, according to Southern, "a smattering of law" and "a taste for polemic" in addition to "a command of the ornate diction of correct epistolary style."<sup>33</sup> These writers, in order to write convincing letters, needed a knowledge of the world and society, and of human character, as well as of

grammar and letters. This need promoted the compilation of treatises on letter writing, accompanied by collections of form letters, and the emergence of centers for the study of letter writing, as at Bologna and Orléans, where letters were a battlefield for rivalries between scholarly factions.<sup>34</sup> Owing to its practical value, the study of letter writing came to dominate other branches of rhetoric.<sup>35</sup> The term *ars dictandi* or *dictamen* derived from *dictare* and was related to *dicere* and the German *Dichter*. It originally meant to declare or dictate (and by extension to prescribe or order, hence the modern use of dictator for a ruler), but already in late Antiquity it took on the meaning of compose as distinct from speak or write. "To dictate," according to the *dictator* Henry *Francigena*, "is to express the concept of the soul by a proper construction of reasons," and Bernard of Meung, who lived in the second half of the twelfth century, wrote that "*Dictamen* is a written presentation distinguished by the beauty of its words [and] adorned, or ordained, by the lustres of its sentiments."<sup>36</sup> In practice the *ars dictandi* in the Middle Ages was the art of composing elegant and effective letters.

The rules laid down in the treatises on *dictamen* dealt with every aspect of a letter from the opening protocol and salutation to the conclusion, including the selection and arrangement of words. The importance of tactful and correct wording of letters was brought out in the account given in the Life of John of Gorze of the correspondence between Otto I and Abd ar-Rahman III of Cordova in the middle of the tenth century.<sup>37</sup> In 1082 Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino (the home of Alberic, the early writer on *dictamen*) sent no reply to a letter from Henry IV "because he did not know with what sort of salutation he should write to him." He eventually settled on "the obedience of due fidelity (*debitae fidelitatis obsequium*)," which was ambiguous and left open the question of what, if any, fidelity

Levita', copiste de chartes et de livres à Cluny sous l'abbatit de saint Odilon (+ 1049)," in *Calames et cahiers. Mélanges . . . Léon Gilissen* (Brussels, 1985), 41–48; and M. Hillebrandt, "Albertus *Teutonicus*, copiste de chartes et de livres à Cluny," *Mémoires de la Société pour l'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays bourguignons, comtois et romands* 45 (1988), 215–32.

<sup>31</sup>F. Gasparri, "Le 'scribe G', archiviste et bibliothécaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris au XIIe siècle," *Scriptorium* 37 (1983), 92–98; M. Parisse, "Un scribe champenois du XIIe siècle et l'évolution de son écriture," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 29 (1983), 229–41; and P. Acht, *Die Cancellaria in Metz. Eine Kanzlei- und Schreibschule um die Wende des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Schriften des wissenschaftlichen Instituts der Elsass-Lothringer im Reich an der Universität Frankfurt, N.F. 25 (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1940), 34–40 and 85–92.

<sup>32</sup>Gasparri, "'Scribe G'," 95: "Le XIIe siècle n'est pas celui des fonctionnaires et la mise en place progressive des rouages administratifs, qui se produit alors, n'a pas encore engendré cette classe de notaires professionnels et besogneux qui formeront, au siècle suivant, le personnel spécialisé et presque exclusif des chancelleries."

<sup>33</sup>Southern, "Peter of Blois," 111. On the association of the study of *dictamen* with law, see Patt, "Early 'Ars dictaminis,'" 151–52, and C. Vulliez, "L'évêque au miroir de l'*Ars dictaminis*. L'exemple de la *Maior compilatio* de Bernard de Meung," *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France* 70 (1984), 277–304, esp. 302–3, where he referred to "l'imprégnation par le droit canonique du temps de la *maior compilatio* de Bernard de Meung."

<sup>34</sup>B. Roy and H. Shooner, "Querelles de maîtres au XIIe siècle: Arnoul d'Orléans et son milieu," *Sandalion* 8–9 (1985–86), 315–41.

<sup>35</sup>E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, 1948), 83. See also Witt, "Medieval 'Ars dictaminis,'" 25, on the tendency in the 12th century to define rhetoric as *dictamen*.

<sup>36</sup>Cited respectively in A. Bütow, *Die Entwicklung der mittelalterlichen Briefsteller bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, (Greifswald, 1908), 48, and Vulliez, "L'évêque au miroir de l'*Ars dictaminis*," 277.

<sup>37</sup>*Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, cc. 115–29, in MGH, *Scriptores in fol.*, IV, 370–75. See R. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity and Diversity, 400–1000* (London, 1983), 201.

he owed to the emperor.<sup>38</sup> A trained letter writer knew the suitable terms of salutation and the correct order of names, which reflected the respective social and political positions of the writer and addressee.<sup>39</sup> Frederick Barbarossa told his notary to put the pope's name after the emperor's and to address him in the singular.

Although this way of writing was common in antiquity, it was considered changed by modern men owing to a certain honor and reverence for persons. The emperor said that either the pope ought to preserve the custom of his predecessors in writing to the person of the emperor or that he himself ought to observe the custom of ancient princes in his letters.<sup>40</sup>

The risks of an incautious (or perhaps calculated) choice of words in high matters of state is illustrated by Pope Hadrian IV's letter to Frederick Barbarossa at Besançon, where the word *beneficium* almost became a *casus belli* between the emperor and the pope. The terms of address used in the text of a letter, which are often lost in translation, were designed to appeal to particular qualities of the addressee. A request to redress a grievance, for instance, was addressed to Your Justice, for revenge to Your Honor, and for money to Your Generosity. Gregory VII in a letter to Lanfranc in 1072 invoked his will, person, prudence, religion, and weariness, and Lanfranc, depending on his purpose, addressed himself to his correspondents' beatitude, benignity, excellency, fraternity, greatness, love, majesty, paternity, prudence, religion, and other qualities.<sup>41</sup> Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux in a single letter to Nicholas of Montiéramey cited his discretion, religion, skill, sanctity, goodness, compassion, generosity, benevolence, and magnificence, each selected to flatter Nicholas in a particular way.<sup>42</sup>

The choice and arrangement of the words in

many letters and documents was controlled by the rules for rhythmical prose of the papal chancery, known as the *cursus curiae Romanae*, or of some other metrical system, which regulated the length of syllables especially at the beginnings and ends of sentences and phrases. Biblical and other quotations, which resonated in ways now lost, had to be used appositely, and the correct person and number, as Frederick Barbarossa stressed, chosen with regard to the sensibilities of both the sender and the addressee. Gilbert Foliot changed his style in the middle of a letter to Abbot Froger of St Florent at Saumur. He began by congratulating Froger on his election as abbot in somewhat formal and conventional terms that gave little or no hint that Froger was an old friend. He then quite suddenly wrote that "We turn to that style (*stilum*) which the present need of writing imposes upon us" and went on to present three requests, including one concerning a monk named Robert who wanted to return to St Florent from England. Gilbert's tone in this section was more personal and intimate precisely because he was asking a favor. "We invade the camp of a friend with confidence," he wrote, "although asking many things which we believe may offend you." It is not surprising that in this passage he appealed to Froger as Your Kindness and Your Grace.<sup>43</sup>

Some letter writers resisted and even rejected these rules. Peter the Venerable complained that "The manner of writing letters (*modus epistolarum*), especially of modern letters, so restricts the pen wishing to pour forth that it cannot write even about essential matters."<sup>44</sup> Peter's use of *moderni* here shows that he had in mind recent developments. It would be a mistake, however, to overemphasize either the novelty of these epistolary rules and practices, many of which predated the earliest treatises on *dictamen*,<sup>45</sup> or their rigidity. They seem restrictive to us, as they did to some contempora-

<sup>38</sup> *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, 3, 50, in MGH, *Scriptores* in fol., XXXIV, 431. See H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius* (Oxford, 1983), 156–57.

<sup>39</sup> See my article on "The Structure of Society according to the Dictatores of the Twelfth Century," in *Law, Church, and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, ed. K. Pennington and R. Somerville (Philadelphia, 1977), 253–67.

<sup>40</sup> Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici imperatoris*, IV, 21, 3rd ed. G. Waitz and B. von Simson, MGH, *Scriptores . . . in usum scholarum* (Hannover-Leipzig, 1912), 260–61. See W. von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, VI, ed. B. von Simson (Leipzig, 1895), 382–83.

<sup>41</sup> Lanfranc, *Ep.* 6, ed. H. Clover and M. Gibson, *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1979), 58–59. See my review in *Speculum* 56 (1981), 159–60.

<sup>42</sup> Arnulf of Lisieux, *Ep.* 66, ed. F. Barlow, *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, Camden Third Series 61 (London, 1939), 116–18.

<sup>43</sup> Gilbert Foliot, *Ep.* 152, ed. Z. N. Brooke, A. Morey, and C. N. L. Brooke, *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot* (Cambridge, 1967), 199. See A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, n.s. 11 (Cambridge, 1965), 15–19. John of Salisbury remarked on Gilbert Foliot's style in a letter to Thomas Becket in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J. Robertson and J. B. Sheppard, 7 vols., Rolls Series 67 (London, 1875–85), VI, 16, *Ep.* 231.

<sup>44</sup> Peter the Venerable, *Ep.* 40, ed. Constable, I, 134. See *Ep.* 24 (*ibid.*, 44–45) and II, 35–36, for some parallel passages.

<sup>45</sup> P. O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Philosophy and the Mediaeval Tradition*, Wimmer Lecture 15 (Latrobe, 1966), 89 note 19, stressed that "The practice of [systematic] letter writing preceded . . . the theory of the *Dictamen*." See also Patt, "Early 'Ars dictaminis,'" 139.

ries, but they came easily to trained letter writers and did little to hinder the writing of long and elaborate letters. A scribe learned the *cursus curiae Romanae* or other system of metrical prose during his apprenticeship until it became almost a second nature, like meter and rhythm to a modern poet. Letter writing in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was marked by a happy balance of old and new elements, and many of the great letter writers were men of affairs as well as men of letters. The eventual triumph of the *dictatores* tended to restrict the writing of letters to professionals and marked the end of the great age of medieval letter writing.<sup>46</sup>

Much work remains to be done on the individual scribes and secretaries who moved out of the scriptorium into the world of larger affairs. It was the nature of such men to hide behind the more prominent figures for whom they worked. An examination of the *cursus* in various letters might show which were dictated verbatim and which were drawn up by scribes, but not their names or personalities.<sup>47</sup> A comparative study of the senders and recipients of the letters in several contemporary collections might reveal the existence of overlapping circles of correspondents, including some *dictatores* writing under their own names, but no such study, so far as I know, has been made, and the contents of most collections vary greatly.<sup>48</sup> Bernhard Schmeidler argued that all unified collections of medieval letters went back to the "single writer personality (*Verfasserpersönlichkeit*)" of the *dictator* who drew them up, often in the names of many senders, and who preserved copies or drafts of his letters in a letter book, which in its original form constituted a chronological picture of the writer's life.<sup>49</sup> This view has not been widely accepted because many letter collections are grouped around an issue or episode rather than a single writer, are manifestly not the work of an individual *dictator*, and are not in chronological or-

der.<sup>50</sup> It is almost impossible to generalize about the writing or collecting of letters in the Middle Ages. Some collections may go back to a single *dictator*, but others are more haphazard and problematical. Schmeidler's work concentrated attention, however, on the notaries who by the twelfth century were found in almost every monastery and episcopal court and who were responsible for a range of practical affairs in addition to drafting and writing letters.<sup>51</sup>

The old type of scribe who copied books and letters and the new bureaucrat who acted for his master and exercised influence himself were combined in Nicholas of Montieramey, whose career illustrates both the opportunities and the ambiguities, not to say risks, of the emerging civil service.<sup>52</sup> He combined literary and diplomatic skills with an ingratiating personality. "From my earliest youth I have pleased the mighty and greatest princes of the world," he wrote toward the end of his life to Count Henry of Champagne.<sup>53</sup> He first appeared in the 1130s in the household of Bishop Hato of Troyes, whom he served as an envoy to Rome and to Cluny, where he met Peter the Venerable.<sup>54</sup> He was on familiar terms with at least three popes; Henry of France (the brother of Louis VII and future bishop of Beauvais and archbishop of Rheims); Abbot Peter of Celle, who later became bishop of Chartres; and many other prominent figures to whom he tried to make himself useful. About half the letters in his collection were written in the names of other people, including an unsavory letter, perhaps written for Bishop Hugh of Auxerre, accusing his canons of treachery and loose living.<sup>55</sup> Nicholas was at Clairvaux probably

<sup>46</sup> On the changes in *dictamen* in Italy ca. 1200, see R. Benson, "Protohumanism and Narrative Technique in Early Thirteenth-Century Italian 'Ars Dictaminis,'" in *Boccaccio: Secoli di vita. Atti del Congresso internazionale: Boccaccio 1975, Università di California, Los Angeles 17-19 ottobre 1975*, ed. M. Cottino-Jones and E. F. Tuttle (Ravenna, 1977), 31-50.

<sup>47</sup> See, for instance, D. Norberg, "Qui a composé les lettres de saint Grégoire le Grand?," *StMed*, 3rd series, 21 (1980), 1-17, esp. 12-13.

<sup>48</sup> *Varietas* both of recipients and of types of material was an important feature of many letter collections.

<sup>49</sup> See especially B. Schmeidler, "Die Briefsammlung Froumunds von Tegernsee," *HJ* 62-69 (1949), 220-38, and the evaluation by C. Erdmann in his article on "Die Briefe Meinhards von Bamberg," *NA* 49 (1930-32), 332-431, esp. 335-40 and 384-87.

<sup>50</sup> P. Classen, "Aus der Werkstatt Gerhochs von Reichersberg. Studien zur Entstehung und Überlieferung von Briefen, Briefsammlungen und Widmungen," *DA* 23 (1967), 31-92, and Huygens, *Jacques de Vitry* (note 19 above), 37-49. On the question of chronological order, see O. Meyer, "Feuchtwangen, Augsburger Eigen-, Tegernseer Filialkloster," *ZSav* 58, *Kanonistische Abt.* 27 (1938), 630-31.

<sup>51</sup> C. R. Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries 1100-1250*, Publications of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Manchester 3 (Manchester, 1950), 120-21, and S. J. Heathcote, "The Letter Collection Attributed to Master Transmundus, Papal Notary and Monk of Clairvaux in the Late Twelfth Century," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 21 (1965), 35-111 and 167-238, esp. 57-58.

<sup>52</sup> On Nicholas, see *Peter the Venerable*, II, 316-30, and J. F. Benton in the *DSP*, XI (1982), 255-59, with further references.

<sup>53</sup> Nicholas, *Ep.* 56, in PL 196, col. 1652a.

<sup>54</sup> Hato referred to this mission in a letter to Peter the Venerable in 1141 ("Negotia nostra quae magister Nicholaus amicus uester Romam portauit, melius quam sperabamus tractata sunt."): *Peter the Venerable*, I, 222, *Ep.* 85. The use of *magister* suggests Nicholas had some formal academic training.

<sup>55</sup> J. F. Benton, "An Abusive Letter of Nicholas of Clairvaux for a Bishop of Auxerre, Possibly Blessed Hugh of Mâcon,"



from the early 1140s to 1152 and assisted Bernard with his sermons as well as his letters,<sup>56</sup> but he continued to visit Cluny and to serve Peter the Venerable, one of whose letters, we have seen, he presented to Bernard orally.

Bernard sometimes gave only instructions to his secretaries, who then wrote his letters. "The mass of my work is to blame," he wrote to Peter the Venerable in apology for some bitter words to which Nicholas had drawn his attention, "since when my writers (*scriptores*) do not properly remember my meaning (*sensum*), they sharpen their style beyond measure, and I am not able to see what I ordered to be written."<sup>57</sup> Late in 1151 Bernard wrote to the pope (citing 2 Cor. 11:26) that he was in danger from false brethren and that many false letters had been sent under his false seal.<sup>58</sup> Bernard had Nicholas in mind, since a few months later he wrote again to the pope, denouncing Nicholas as a thief, forger, and traitor. "Who can say to how many people he has written in my name whatever he wanted without my knowledge?"<sup>59</sup> Exactly what Nicholas had done is unknown, but Bernard was outraged at this breach of confidence. His indignation and the strength of his language were doubtless sharpened by a sense of betrayal and perhaps also by an awareness of his failure to supervise Nicholas more closely.

Nicholas left Clairvaux immediately, but he went on to serve other important men, including the count of Champagne. In about 1170 Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux wrote to Nicholas about a canon of Troyes who had apparently obtained money by writing a false letter in the name of the count and

using his seal.<sup>60</sup> Arnulf wrote that a second letter from the count, "which a most tender affection seemed to have composed (*dictare*)," appeared to have been written by Nicholas, since it "exuded the style of your skill (*stilum uestre peritiae*), and the characteristics (*apices*) of that [letter] which I recently received from Your Sanctity fully expressed to me by sure signs the identity of the hand." The facts of the case are unclear, but the canon had apparently copied Nicholas's style, which is ironic because Nicholas was himself an accomplished imitator of the style of others. Such gifts could be abused, but they were also useful in a world that depended on the services of trained writers and diplomatists who could be relied upon to write and speak for their masters.

Some of the best-known letter writers of the twelfth century were churchmen and writers, like John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, and Stephen of Tournai, who were not themselves in positions of power, though they usually held ecclesiastical offices, but who served in the courts of the great and performed a variety of functions in the increasingly literate and bureaucratic world of the time. John and Peter were students of both friendship and the classics—Peter's treatise *De amicitia christiana* was influenced by Cicero<sup>61</sup>—and also of law, since the study of law and *dictamen* were often associated. John of Salisbury had no formal legal training, but he had a good knowledge of law, and Peter of Blois, who studied law at Bologna in the 1150s, was competent in both canon and civil law.<sup>62</sup> Stephen studied at Bologna and at Chartres and was considered an authority on canon law. He served several popes and many bishops and acted as adviser and envoy of the king of France, for whom he composed various letters.<sup>63</sup>

John of Salisbury was in effect the executive assistant to Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury and

*MedSt* 33 (1971), 365–70. His exact role in writing letters for other people is not known, but he was clearly in demand as a letter writer.

<sup>56</sup> PL 202, col. 475A, and Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*, ed. F. Gastaldelli, 2 vols., *Temi e Testi* 19 (Rome, 1974), I, 191, see intro., liii–liv. See also J. Leclercq, "Les collections de sermons de Nicholas de Clairvaux" (1956), repr. in his *Recueil d'études sur saint Bernard et ses écrits*, I, *Storia e letteratura* 92 (Rome, 1962), 50.

<sup>57</sup> Bernard, *Ep.* 387, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 355–56. See J. Leclercq, "Saint Bernard et ses secrétaires" (1951), repr. in his *Recueil*, I, 6–7, where he suggested (7 note 1) that *stylus* means "pen" rather than "style."

<sup>58</sup> Bernard, *Ep.* 284, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 199. Following Paul's reference to false brethren, Bernard used the term *falsatus* three times in this sentence. It clearly means "deceptive" rather than "forged" in the modern sense, as some scholars have assumed.

<sup>59</sup> Bernard, *Ep.* 298, ed. Leclercq, VIII, 214. "No man more richly deserves perpetual imprisonment," he wrote to the pope, "nothing is more fitting for him than perpetual silence."

<sup>60</sup> Arnulf of Lisieux, *Ep.* 66, ed. Barlow, 117. Arnulf was a shrewd and experienced administrator and apparently thought he knew the characteristics of Nicholas' style.

<sup>61</sup> Davy, *Traité de l'amour* (note 17 above), 31.

<sup>62</sup> C. N. L. Brooke, "John of Salisbury and his World," in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. M. Wilks, *Studies in Church History*, Subsidia 3 (Oxford, 1984), 7; S. Kuttner and E. Rathbone, "Anglo-Norman Canonists of the Twelfth Century," *Traditio* 7 (1949–51), 285–86; and Southern, "Peter of Blois," 107–8.

<sup>63</sup> J. W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1986), 32, 53, and 69, and C. Vulliez, "Etudes sur la correspondance et la carrière d'Etienne d'Orléans dit de Tournai (+ 1203)," in *L'abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au Moyen Age*, ed. J. Longère, *Bibliotheca Victorina* 1 (Paris-Turnhout, 1991), 195–231, esp. 211, 210–17, and 228–9.



gave an interesting account of his epistolary responsibilities in a letter written in 1160 to Henry II's chancellor, Thomas Becket, whom the aged archbishop wanted to recall to his service:<sup>64</sup> "In accordance with the command of Your Love, I had drawn up (*conceperam*) a letter from my lord to the lord king and to you with such severity that the pressing need of [your] return might be indicated to you." Before this letter was sent, however, one from the king arrived, stressing his need for Becket "with flatteries and promises," and Theobald instructed John to temper the severity of this letter "and to make some allowance for public need (*necessitati publicae*)."<sup>65</sup> He therefore discarded the former letter (*litteras conceptas*) and after some hesitation sent Henry and Becket a letter "which was as pressing as I could but gave way a bit to the king's desire." This letter included a request for the promotion of Archdeacon Bartholomew of Exeter, which John hoped the king would receive favorably "if you will endeavor to promote it." John then went on to other matters, but this passage shows the importance and delicacy of his position, caught between the archbishop of Canterbury, the king of England, and Thomas Becket, who served both the archbishop and the king.

Wibald of Stavelot was more of a statesman and less of a secretary, since in addition to serving as abbot of Stavelot and Corvey (and for a time also of Monte Cassino) he was an adviser of Conrad III and, until his death in 1158, of Frederick Barbarossa. His letter collection is an important source for the history of the empire in the middle of the twelfth century and includes letters written both by himself and by or for others.<sup>65</sup> In 1149 Wibald wrote to the canon and schoolmaster Manegold of Paderborn, after discussing his own training in the liberal arts, theology, and sacred writings, that without a knowledge and love of God it was of little or no use

to write correctly, read clearly, speak aptly, know the qualities and bases of arguments, persuade by speech, understand the power and nature of numbers, distin-

guish harmony and intervals, excel on the abacus, gnomon, and astrolabe, [and] judge the interrelations and connections of degrees.

These accomplishments corresponded to the liberal arts, and the first five to the Trivium, one to writing and the other four to reading, speaking, and debating. Later in the letter Wibald specifically stressed the importance of eloquence: "It is a matter of no little time or brief study or moderate effort to know the power and nature of souls, to rouse those who are behind and to check and rein in, as it were, those who are ahead." He then described the use and misuse of oratory and eloquence in the courts, both secular and ecclesiastical, and in the pulpit; and he urged Manegold, if he wished to achieve "the glories of speaking (*gloria dicendi*)," to copy a speaker whose eloquence pleased his own spirit. "It is the unanimous opinion of the greatest orators that one can speak more elegantly and fully by copying those who are eloquent than by following the rules of the art."<sup>66</sup>

Wibald was referring here to the *ars arengandi* rather than the *ars dictandi*, but he linked writing, reading, speaking, arguing, and persuading as useful accomplishments. Statesmen, and those who spoke for them and wrote their letters, had to know "the power and nature of souls" and to be able by the power of their words to rouse and restrain their readers and hearers. The letter writers of the twelfth century made themselves indispensable in the conduct of government and brought their intellectual concerns to bear on the conduct of practical affairs. In this, as in their activities and other interests, they resembled the later humanists who served the rulers of late medieval and Renaissance Europe.<sup>67</sup> The abilities to persuade in writing and speech joined in the art later known as

<sup>64</sup> Wibald of Corvey, *Ep.* 167, ed. P. Jaffé, *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, Bibliotheca rerum germanicarum 1 (Berlin, 1864), 282, 284, and 286. Sections of this letter are translated, with a commentary, by G. Ellspermann in *Readings in Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. J. Miller, M. Prosser, and T. Benson (Bloomington-London, 1973), 209–14 (esp. 210 note 3, on the correspondence between the list of talents and the liberal arts) and Fredborg, "Scholastic Teaching of Rhetoric" (note 10 above), 89–91, with references to the classical sources.

<sup>65</sup> See Kristeller, *Eight Philosophers* (note 23 above); idem, "The Humanist Movement," in his *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, ed. M. Mooney (New York, 1979), 24–25; Witt, "Medieval 'Ars dictaminis,'" 1; and other references in J. F. Tinkler, "Renaissance Humanism and the *genera eloquentiae*," *Rhetorica* 5 (1987), 279. Nederman in his article on John of Salisbury (note 12 above) said (173) that "The attempt to impart to current affairs a distinctly philosophical cast intrigued John as much as it would his successors in the Renaissance."

<sup>64</sup> John of Salisbury, *Ep.* 128, ed. Millor, I, 221–22. See Brooke, "John of Salisbury," 16.

<sup>65</sup> H. Zatschek, "Wibald von Stablo. Studien zur Geschichte der Reichskanzlei und Reichspolitik unter den älteren Staufern," *MittÖIG*, Erg.-Bd. 10 (1928), 237–495, esp. 273–312; cf. B. Schmeidler, "Bamberg, der *Codex Udalrici* und die deutsche Reichsverwaltung im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 2 (1929), 231, who maintained that Wibald's collection was "ein ganz normales Brief- und Geschäftsbuch von einer einheitgebenden Person."

diplomacy, which derived from diploma or document. The diplomat or diplomatist knew how to write and present documents. The history of letters, and of those who wrote them, thus merges into the history of bureaucracy and diplomacy and

forms an important chapter in the development of government and administration in the Middle Ages.

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